# Syllabus for

# University Course 82:

# Magic in the Middle Ages

## Prof. Robert Mathiesen

## Fall, 2004/5

**MWF 12:00-12:50 pm** **Bio-Med Center, room 139**

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## Grading Policy

Be advised that I only rarely give a grade of A. In general, if you have received an A in your other humanities courses at Brown, then expect to receive a B in this course; if a B, then a C. If you are unwilling to risk receiving a B or a C, you should choose the S/NC grade option.

In general, to receive even a B on a written assignment, you must show a complete and perfect mastery of the mechanics of formal, academic written English (in spelling, punctuation, grammar and lexicon), and your thought must be expressed with great precision and clarity. Even small flaws can lower your grade to a C, however excellent your ideas might otherwise be.

The grade of A is reserved for those very few assignments that exhibit a depth of wisdom and learning far beyond the usual run of student work at Brown. It cannot be earned by any amount of extra effort or time that one might put into the work for this class, but signifies an excellence that arises from other causes than hard work alone.

## Calendar

| | | | M | W | F | | | | M | W | F | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Week | **1** | = | -- | 8 | 10 | Sep. | **10** | = | 8* | 10 | 12 | |
| | **2** | = | 13* | 15 | 17# | | **11** | = | 15 | 17 | 19 | |
| | **3** | = | 20* | 22 | 24 | | **12** | = | 22 | -- | -- | |
| | **4** | = | 27* | 29 | 1# | Oct. | **13** | = | 29 | 1 | 3 | Dec. |
| | **5** | = | 4* | 6 | 8 | | **14** | = | 6* | 8 | 10* | |
| | **6** | = | -- | 13 | 15 | | | | | | | |
| | **7** | = | 18 | 20 | 22 | | | | | | | |
| | **8** | = | 25 | 27 | 29 | | | | | | | |
| | **9** | = | 1 | 3 | 5# | Nov. | | | | | | |

* Written assignment due
\# Discussion in class

***Reading Period will not be observed.***

## Office Hours

Office hours: On Wednesdays, 2:00-4:00 pm (or by appointment), in 022 Marston Hall.

## The Goals of the Course

... are **(1)** to examine how magic developed during the Middle Ages, with some consideration of its Late Antique antecedents and its Modern survivals, and **(2)** to understand how Medieval magical practices can have seemed to work, and in some cases truly to have worked.

## Disclaimer

Any comprehensive course on Magic in the Middle Ages has to examine a certain amount of Medieval (and pseudo-Medieval) material that deals with — or even promotes — sex, violence and sexual violence. This material is mostly textual, but also includes a few images. Some of this material may offend or intimidate some people. Please consider this possibility before you enroll. If you choose to enroll, you do so at your own risk.

## Late Arrival to Class

Class begins promptly at 12:00 am, and ends at 12:50 am. **Arriving late,** especially if it is frequent or disruptive, **may lower your grade.**

## Late Assignments Not Accepted, Graded or Excused

Each written assignment is due by 5:00 pm on the day indicated in the syllabus. As a general rule, **I will not accept, grade or excuse late assignments.** I will not excuse late work because of conflict with any other commitment, such as an assignment or examination in another course, or an obligation to attend a practice, rehersal, performance or athletic meet. In such cases, I expect you to complete your work early. It is your responsibility to anticipate all such conflicts. If you anticipate that some other other professor, director or coach may put such obligations on you without much advance notice, you should tell him or her about my policy as soon as possible.

## Requirements and Grading

In general, your grade will be based on your assigned papers and your participation in class, roughly as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Short papers (assignments #2-5) | 1/3 |
| Long research paper (assignments #5-6) | 1/3 |
| Class participation (esp. Friday Discussions) | 1/3 |

The professor reserves the right to change the proportions as the course progresses, as may seem advisable to him. He will announce any such change in class.

***Friday Discussions.*** On three Fridays (indicated in the calendar and in the schedule of classes and assignments) the class will consist of student discussion of a text that has been specifically assigned for that day. Every student is expected to have read the assigned text with great care well in advance of the discussion, and to have thought about it at some length before class.

***Written Assignments.*** All papers for this course **must** be printed (or typewritten). Handwritten papers will be returned without credit and without a grade (unless prior permission has been obtained from me).

> ***Papers must be double-spaced, in a 12-point font, with 1.25" right, left and bottom margins and 1" top margin, to leave room for the professor's comments.***

> ***I require <u>two copies</u> of each written assignment.***

I will grade your papers primarily on the **quality of your thought** and the **clarity of your writing.** I also require that you have mastered all the **mechanics of writing formal, academic English** (spelling, punctuation, grammar, lexicon), and I will downgrade you for lapses in any of these areas.

Research essays **must** include a full formal bibliography of your sources, and **must** use footnotes or internal citations **wherever** you draw on these sources, whether you quote them directly or merely paraphrase their language, arguments and trains of thought. Consult the most recent edition of the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* for a detailed treatment of the standard conventions.

***Plagiarism.*** Failure to cite all your sources in detail, throughout your entire paper, is considered ***plagiarism,*** and is a serious violation of the Academic Code. Brown is very strict about such things, and may even expel a student for such a violation.

Every essay **must** be the product of your own **unaided work.** It is also considered plagiarism, and a serious violation of the Academic Code, to work on your papers (or even on the outline or the arguments or the bibliography for your papers) together with anyone else, unless the professor specifically authorizes such joint work. *I do not authorize any joint work on papers for this course.*

However, *I do authorize you to consult as needed with people who can help you improve your mastery of formal academic English and its mechanics* (grammar, punctuation, lexicon, style).

## Written Assignments

Assignments #1 and #7 are **brief personal essays,** perhaps 2 pages long. No research is needed here, just knowledge of yourself and good writing.

Assignments #2-4 are **short papers,** perhaps 3-5 pages long. What is required above all is profound thought and deep insight into the material. It is possible, but difficult, to write a superb paper of this sort with little or no scholarly research or bibliography. However, if you do rely on other sources, you must cite them.

Assignments #5-6 are, respectively, a detailed outline and bibliography, and a final version of a **long research paper,** perhaps 15-25 pages long. This work must be the result not only of profound thought and deep insight, but also the result of your outside reading and extra research (i.e., beyond what in in the books assigned for the course).

**Assignment #1 (due 9/13).** Write a **brief essay** about the personal and/or academic interests that led you to enroll in this course, also what you hope to get out of it, and what previous exposure (if any) you may have had to magic or magical religion. Please include anything which will

shed light on your choice of this course. *This brief personal essay will not be graded, and will remain CONFIDENTIAL. Please keep this essay on your computer, as you may wish to revise to it at the end of the course (see assignment #7 below).*

**Assignment #2 (due 9/20). Short Paper.** Practitioners of magic commonly believe that words (incantations, true names, etc.) are very useful tools — perhaps the most important tools of all — for working magic, and that these words become more powerful the more unlike every-day speech they are. **Explain why** the use of words should be so wide-spread and so important in magic.

**Assignment #3 (due 9/27). Short Paper.** Magic spells and rituals commonly speak of binding and unbinding, knotting and unknotting, locking and unlocking. At times, too, binding or unbinding, knotting or unknoting, or locking or unlocking is actually carried out as a part of some spell, ritual or practice in magic. **Explain why and how** this has been so common in magic throughout the ages.

**Assignment #4 (due 10/4). Short Paper.** Design a well-crafted magic spell or ritual for the purpose of ensuring that you will get a grade of A on this assignment. (You are not required to perform this ritual or spell, just to design it!) *Note: if you feel uncomfortable actually designing a spell or ritual, you may analyze an actual Medieval spell instead. See the professor for a copy of that spell.*

**Assignment #5 (due 11/8).** Hand in a detailed **outline** and full **bibliography** for your **long research paper.** (See #6 below.)

**Assignment #6 (due 12/6).** Hand in the **final version** of your **long research paper.**

**Assignment #7 (due 12/10).** Critically re-read your initial personal essay (assignment #1 above), and write a second brief essay explaining what you have learned since you wrote that first essay. *This essay, too, will not be graded, and will remain CONFIDENTIAL.*

## The Long Research Paper

Your long research paper may be on any topic that you like, provided that I have approved it in advance. You should have chosen your topic and gotten it approved by Monday of the seventh week of the semester (10/18), as a detailed outline and bibliography will be due three weeks later (11/8). (Any change in topic after this date will require

the advance submission of a new detailed outline and a new bibliography.) Here are two examples of possible topics:

1. Investigate some magical or divinatory practice that you have *personally* witnessed (or have carried out *yourself*). Consider its historical antecedents, its effectiveness (if any), and the very difficult question of just how one might determine that effectiveness.

2. Trace the history of some magical or divinatory practice from Antiquity up to the end of the Middle Ages, or even up to modern times. Show how it changed over that period of time. What factors contributed to these changes in the given practice? What factors caused it to survive — despite these changes or because of them — for all those centuries?

## Schedule of Classes and Assignments

**An asterisk (*) marks the days on which a written assignment is due.**

**Week**

**1** ***Introduction***
W. [Administrative Matters.] The Middle Ages.
F. What is Magic?

**2** ***The Sources of Medieval Magic, I***
M.* History of Magic to the End of Antiquity.
W. Late Antique Syncretistic Magic: Its Origins, Proscription and Survival.
F. **[Discussion:]** A Sex Spell from Late Antiquity.
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Kieckhefer *Magic in the Middle Ages* (ch. 1-2)
Cavendish *History of Magic* (prologue, ch. 1)
**Recommended:**
Luck *Arcana Mundi* (all the introductions)
Betz *The Greek Magical Papyri* (pp. xli-lviii)
Gager *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells* (skim)
Meyer & Smith *Ancient Christian Magic* (skim)

**3** ***The Sources of Medieval Magic, II***
M.* The Hermetic Writings.
W. Theurgy.
F. A Scholarly Controversy: Was Jesus a Magician?
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Cavendish *History of Magic* (ch. 2)
Luck, "Theurgy" [*xerocopy*]
**Recommended:**
Smith *Jesus the Magician* (skim)

**4** ***Germanic Traditions in Medieval Magic***
M.* Sagas and *Seidhr*
W. Spells and Charms
F. **[Discussion:]** An Anglo-Saxon Magical Ritual
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Kieckhefer *Magic in the Middle Ages* (ch. 3-4)

**5** ***Celtic Traditions in Medieval Magic***
M.* Second Sight.
***Last day to change your grade option to S/NC***
W. Celtic Magical Prayers.
F. The Holy Grail.
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Kieckhefer *Magic in the Middle Ages* (ch. 5)

**6** ***Magic and the Medieval Educated Elite, I***
M. **[no class]**
W. Astrology.
F. Alchemy.
**Required by Wednesday of this week:**
Kieckhefer *Magic in the Middle Ages* (ch. 6)

**7** ***Magic and the Medieval Educated Elite, II***
M. The Influence of Islamic and Jewish Magic.
W. Al-Kindi's *On Stellar Rays*
F. Geomancy and Other Means of Divination.
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Kieckhefer *Magic in the Middle Ages* (ch. 7)

**8** ***Magic and the Medieval Educated Elite, III***
M. The Clerical Underground and Ritual Magic.
W. The *Sworn Book* of Honorius of Thebes.
F. The Great Witch-Hunt.
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Kieckhefer *Magic in the Middle Ages* (ch. 8)
Mathiesen "A 13th-Century Ritual" [*xerocopy*]
**Recommended:**
Peters (intro.; ch. 1, 4-6; skim ch. 2-3)

**9** ***Medieval Magic in the Modern Era, I***
M. The Renaissance Synthesis of Magical Traditions.
W. Agrippa's *On Occult Philosophy.*
F. **[Discussion:]** *The Key of Solomon* and Related Texts.
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Cavendish *History of Magic* (ch. 3)
Mathers *Key of Solomon*
Agrippa *On Occult Philosophy* (Consult the special study guide for Agrippa.)

**10** ***Medieval Magic in the Modern Era, II***
M.* The *Grimoires.*
W. Freemasons and Rosicrucians.
F. The Rise of Modern Occultism and Paganism.

***[continued on the next page]***

**Required by Monday of this week:**
Cavendish *History of Magic* (ch. 4)
Hutton *Triumph* (ch. 1-10)
Leland *Aradia* (1990 basic edition)
Mathiesen "Charles G. Leland" [*xerocopy*]
**Recommended:**
Waite *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* (esp. pt. I, ch. 1-4; skim pt. II)

**11** ***Modern Magical Movements and Methods, I***
M. Orders and Lodges.
W. Wicca and its Origins
F. Modern Magical Methods
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Hutton *Triumph* (ch. 11-20)
Greer *Inside a Magical Lodge* (esp. ch. 1-5, 12-13)
**Recommended:**
Luhrmann *Persuasions* (ch. 1-17)

**12** ***Modern Magical Movements and Methods, II***
M. Modern Magical Methods (continued)
W. **[no class]**
F. **[no class]**
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Farrar & Farrar *A Witches' Bible* (esp. pt. I, pp. 11-57; pt. II, pp. 105-280)
*The Book of Shadows*

**13** ***The Effectiveness of (Medieval) Magic***
M. Material Causes.
W. The Mind-Body Link.
F. States of Consciousness.
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Neher (ch. 1-5, 8; just skim ch. 6-7, 9)
Magliocco *Witching Culture* (ch. 3-5)

**14** ***The Effectiveness of Medieval Magic***
M.* Interpersonal Causes.
W. Other Causes.
F.* Why Study Magic? Retrospect on the Course.
**Required by Monday of this week:**
Leland *Gypsy Sorcery* (ch. 11-12) [*xerocopy*]
Seabrook *Witchcraft* (selected chapters) [*xerocopy*]
Luhrmann *Persuasions* (ch. 18-23)
**Recommended:**
Leland *The Mystic Will* (just skim)

**Bibliography:**
**Books Required, Recommended, or Simply Relevant**

Jeanne **Achterberg.** *Imagery in Healing: Shamanism and Modern Medicine.* Boston & London: Shambhala, 1985.

Margot **Adler.** *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers and Other Pagans in America Today.* 2nd ed. Boston: Beacon, 1986.

H. C. **Agrippa.** *Three Books of Occult Philosophy.* St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1993.

Bengt **Ankarloo** & Gustav **Henningsen,** edd. *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.

Hans Dieter **Betz,** ed. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells.* Chicago & London: University of Chicago, 1986.

Susan **Blackmore** & Adam **Hart-Davis.** *Test Your Psychic Powers.* London: Thorsons, 1995.

Isaac **Bonewits.** *Real Magic: An Introductory Treatise on the Basic Principles of Yellow Magic.* Revised ed. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1989.

Philip **Carr-Gomm,** ed. *The Druid Renaissance: The Voice of Druidry Today.* London: Thorsons, 1996.

Richard **Cavendish.** *A History of Magic.* London: Arkana, 1987.

Nicholas H. **Clulee.** *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion.* London — New York: Routledge, 1988.

Aleister **Crowley.** *Magick: Liber ABA: Book Four, Parts I-IV.* Ed. Hymenaeus Beta. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1994.

John Putnam **Demos.** *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England.* Oxford (UK): Oxford UP, 1982.

Mircea **Eliade.** *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Transl. by W. R. Trask. (Bollingen Series, LXXVI.) Princeton: Princeton UP, 1964.

Claire **Fanger,** ed. *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic.* University Park, PA: The State University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Janet & Stewart **Farrar.** *A Witches' Bible: The Complete Witches' Handbook.* Custer, WA: Phoenix Publishing, n.d. [= *A Witches Bible Compleat.* New York: Magickal Childe, New York: Magickal Childe, ©1981-84.]

Valerie I. J. **Flint.** *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991.

Stephen E. **Flowers.** *Runes and Magic: Magical Formulaic Elements in the Older Runic Tradition.* New York: P. Lang, 1986.

Stephen E. **Flowers.** *The Galdrabók: An Icelandic Grimoire.* York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1989.

Garth **Fowden.** *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind.* [Facsimile reprint.] Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1993.

Peter **French.** *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus.* London — New York: Ark, 1987.

John G. **Gager.** *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World.* New York — Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992.

Carlo **Ginzburg.** *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath.* New York: Pantheon, 1991.

Stephen O. **Glosecki.** *Shamanism and Old English Poetry.* New York: Garland, 1989.

Richard **Godbeer.** *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.

Joscelyn **Godwin.** *The Theosophical Enlightenment.* Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1994.

John Michael **Greer.** *Inside a Magical Lodge: Group Ritual in the Western Tradition.* St. Paul: Llewellyn, 1998.

Graham **Harvey** & Charlotte **Hardman,** edd. *Paganism Today.* London: Thorsons, 1995.

Philip **Heselton.** *Wiccan Roots: Gerald Gardner and the Modern Witchcraft Revival.* Freshfields, Chieveley, Berks: Capall Bann, 2000.

Ellen Evert **Hopman** & Lawrence **Bond.** *People of the Earth: The New Pagans Speak Out.* Rochester, VT: Destiny, 1996.

Harry **Houdini.** *Houdini on Magic.* New York: Dover, 1953.

Ronald **Hutton.** *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles: Their Nature and Legacy.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

Ronald **Hutton.** *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994.

Ronald **Hutton.** *Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996.

Ronald **Hutton.** *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft.* Oxford—New York: Oxford UP, 1999.

Sarah Iles **Johnston.** *Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate's Roles in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature.* (American Classical Studies, no. 21.) Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990.

Karen Louise **Jolly.** *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1996.

Prudence **Jones** & Caitlín **Matthews.** *Voices from the Circle: The Heritage of Western Paganism.* Wellingborough (UK): Aquarian, 1990.

Prudence **Jones** & Nigel **Pennick.** *A History of Pagan Europe.* London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

Aidan A. **Kelly.** *Crafting the Art of Magic,* Book I: *A History of Modern Witchcraft, 1939-1964.* St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1991.

Richard **Kieckhefer.** *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500.* Berkeley — Los Angeles: University of California, 1976.

Richard **Kieckhefer.** *Magic in the Middle Ages.* Cam-bridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.

Richard **Kieckhefer.** *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century.* University Park, PA: The State University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

George Lyman **Kittredge.** *Witchcraft in Old and New England.* Cambridge: Harvard, 1929.

Charles Godfrey **Leland.** *Aradia, or the Gospel of the Witches.* [Reprint.] Custer, WA: Phoenix, 1990.

Charles G. **Leland** and Mario **Pazzaglini.** *Aradia, or the Gospel of the Witches,* expanded ed. Custer, WA: Phoenix Publishing, 1999.

Charles Godfrey **Leland.** *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition.* London: Unwin — New York: Scribner's, 1892.

Charles Godfrey **Leland.** *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling.* [Reprint.] New York: Citadel, 1991.

Charles Godfrey **Leland.** *The Mystic Will.* [Reprint.] Chicago: Yogi, n.d.

Georg **Luck.** *Arcana Mundi: Magic and Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds.* Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1985.

Georg **Luck.** "Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism," in **Neusner, Frerichs & McCracken Flesher** (1989), 185-225 [= ch. 8].

T. M. **Luhrmann.** *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England.* Cambridge: Harvard, 1989.

Sabina **Magliocco.** *Witching Culture: Folklore and Neo-Paganism in America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Henry **Maguire,** ed. *Byzantine Magic.* Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995.

S. Liddell MacGregor **Mathers.** *The Key of Solomon the King.* [Reprint.] York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1989.

S. Liddell MacGregor **Mathers.** *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage.* [Reprint.] New York: Dover, 1975.

S. Liddell MacGregor **Mathers.** *The Goetia: The Lesser Key of Solomon the King,* ed. Aleister Crowley. 2nd ed. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1995.

Robert **Mathiesen.** "Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: The Written Tradition," in **Maguire** (1995), 155-77 [= ch. 8].

Robert **Mathiesen.** "A Thirteenth-Century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision from the Sworn Book of Honorius of Thebes," in **Fanger** (1998), 143-162 [= ch. 6].

Robert **Mathiesen.** "Charles G. Leland and the Witches of Italy: The Origin of the *Aradia,*" in **Leland** and **Pazzaglini** (1999).

Ingrid **Merkel** & Allen G. **Debus.** *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe.* Washington, DC: Folger, 1988.

Ralph **Merrifield.** *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic.* New York: New Amsterdam, 1987.

Marvin **Meyer** and Richard **Smith.** *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power.* San Francisco, CA: Harper-SanFrancisco. 1994.

Michael A. **Morgan,** translator. *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of Mysteries.* (Society of Biblical Literature, Texts and Translations, no. 25 [= Pseudepigrapha Series, no. 11].) Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983.

Andrew **Neher.** *Paranormal and Transcendent Experience: A Psychological Examination* [= *The Psychology of Transcendence.* 2nd ed. New York: Dover, 1990.

Jacob **Neusner,** Ernest S. **Frerichs** & Paul Virgil **McCracken Flesher.** *Religion, Science, and Magic in Concert and in Conflict.* New York & Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989.

Daniel Lawrence **O'Keefe.** *Stolen Lightening: The Social Theory of Magic.* New York: Continuum, 1982.

Edward **Peters.** *The Magician, the Witch and the Law.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1978.

Sarah M. **Pike.** *Earthly Bodies, Magical Selves: Contemporary Pagans and the Search for Community.* Berkeley — Los Angeles — London: University of California Press, 2001.

Geraldine **Pinch.** *Magic in Ancient Egypt.* Austin, TX: Univ. of Texas, 1994.

Vance **Randolph.** *Ozark Magic and Folklore.* [Reprint.] New York: Dover, 1964.

Elliot **Rose.** *A Razor for a Goat: A Discussion of Certain Problems in the History of Witchcraft and Diabolism.* Toronto: University of Toronto, 1962.

Jeffrey B. **Russell.** *A History of Witchcraft: Sorcerers, Heretics, and Pagans.* New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980.

Allen **Scarboro,** Nancy **Campbell,** and Shirley **Stave.** *Living Witchcraft: A Contemporary American Coven.* Westport CT: Praeger, 1994.

Reginald **Scot.** *The Discoverie of Witchcraft.* [Originally published in 1584.] New York: Dover, 1972.

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*The **Skeptical Inquirer.*** [Buffalo, NY:] Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal, 1976 to present.

Morton **Smith.** *Jesus the Magician.* San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978.

David **Stevenson.** *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.

David **Stevenson.** *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and their Members.* Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP, 1989.

Stanley Jeyaraja **Tambiah.** *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective.* [Reprinted articles.] Cambridge: Harvard, 1985.

Stanley Jeyaraja **Tambiah.** *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.

Keith **Thomas.** *Religion and the Decline of Magic.* New York: Scribner's, 1971.

Lynn **Thorndike.** *A History of Magic and Experimental Science.* 8 volumes. New York: Columbia, 1923-58.

Joshua **Trachtenberg.** *Jewish Magic and Superstition.* [Reprint.] New York: Macmillan (Atheneum), 1970.

Arthur Edward **Waite.** *The Book of Ceremonial Magic.* [Reprint.] Secaucus, NJ: Citadel, 1961.

Frances A. **Yates.** *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition.* Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964.

Frances A. **Yates.** *The Art of Memory.* Chicago: University of Chicago, 1966.

Frances A. **Yates.** *Theatre of the World.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1969.

Frances A. **Yates.** *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment.* London & Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1972.

Frances A. **Yates.** *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age.* London & Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1979.